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ABSTRACT

The varying results of incorporation on the survival of groups such as bands, tribes, chiefdoms and mercantile states can be explained by applying the historical process to the American conquest of the Southwest. The American Southwest (the region covered by Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Texas, California, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado) was occupied by four aboriginal groups (Apaches, Navajos, Comanches, and Pueblos). In addition to the aboriginal inhabitants, there were two successive waves of invaders (Spaniards and Americans). The conquest began with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1822 and concluded with the formal annexation of the region in 1848. The effects of the conquest on the Comanche, Apache, Navajo, Pueblo, and Hispanos were varying degrees of cultural persistence, demographic survival, political centralization, ecological adaptation, and external utility of resources. The American conquest of the Southwest produced several irreversible changes which included all three band societies becoming tribes; the Santa Fe Trail trade was a major factor in feudalization of New Mexico, intensifying relations between the Hispanic elite and poor. The Southwest (New Mexico and Arizona primarily) remained relatively marginal to the American economy making it an effective preserve for a variety of ethnic groups. (ERB)

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THE EFFECTS OF INCORPORATION INTO THE WORLD-SYSTEM ON ETHNIC PERSISTENCE: THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF THE SOUTHWEST

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THE EFFECTS OF INCORPORATION INTO THE WORLD-SYSTEM ON ETHNIC PERSISTENCE: THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF THE SOUTHWEST

In the process of nation building, groups which are more-or-less autonomous--bands, tribes, chiefdoms, mercantile states--typically become engulfed by expanding states and thus, are transformed into "ethnic groups". The consequences of incorporation for these new ethnic groups are far from uniform. Some groups are destroyed; some are assimilated; some survive--barely or prosperously. What accounts for these varying results? This paper constructs an explanation for the variety of results of incorporation in the survival of such groups. This explanation is constructed from a synthesis of a variety of theoretical perspectives. The explanation is then applied to a specific historical process, the American conquest of the Southwest.

The theoretical synthesis is built on a wedding of Aguirre-Beltran's (1979) concept of a "region of refuge" and Wallerstein's world-system theory. This synthesis serves to organize the patterns of effects of macro social changes on local social relations through the specification of an intervening variable, market articulation. The type of local-supra-local articulation, in turn, serves as a context for specifying how and why the distribution of sociological niches within the regional social ecology changes. Finally ecological theories account for the variation in the survival dynamics of local groups.

TOWARD A THEORY OF ETHNIC PERSISTENCE

World-system theory (Wallerstein, 1974a, b, 1979a; Chirot, 1977) is the most recent of a long line of theories which seek to account for uneven develop-

ment in the modern world (Chirot and Hall, in press; Hall, in press). World-system theory sees uneven development as an inherent part of the growth of the global, capitalist division of labor. World-wide production and trade processes differentiate the world into: (1) central, thriving, modern, diversified, industrial nation-states (core); (2) marginal, retarded, monocultural, agricultural or extractive nation nation-states (periphery); and (3) nation-states characterized as intermediate to the other two types (semi-periphery). The social structures of these three types of societies are systematically different.

The social structure of a social formation is governed both by its position in the world-economy and by the details of intergroup competition and cooperation within the social formation. Within this model, ethnic groups--and status groups of all types--are seen to be manifestations of class groups in peculiar forms (Wallerstein, 1979b, c). This suggests that there are different dynamics of group survival in different parts of the world-system. In core areas ethnicity may be reactively created in response to a particular cultural division of labor (Hechter, 1975, 1978).

In contrast to core areas, in peripheral areas ethnicity may not be reactively created, but preserved. The problem of incorporation of new areas and new groups into the world-system--a process which most typically occurs in peripheral areas--has not been thoroughly addressed in world-system theory. Aguirre-Beltran's analysis of regions of refuge (1979) suggests a way to close this theoretical lacuna.

According to Aguirre-Beltran (1979), when a regional economy of a nation-state is only marginally articulated to the national economy, social relations, especially ethnic relations, are buffered from the dynamics of the national economy and become frozen in their state of development at the time of their articulation. Thus, such regions act as preserves of older forms of social

relations no longer found in the more central sectors of the national economy. A regional elite is formed which acts as middleman between the regional and national sectors. Such areas are also preserves in the sense that they maintain national control of the region in expectation of later development. They may drain resources from the national economy, rather than supply revenue to it--precisely the opposite of the role of the peripheries in world-system theory.

The concept of region of refuge may be combined with world-system theory to provide a more robust theory of state incorporation (Hall, 1982a). Peripherality may be conceptualized as a continuous range of strength of connection between underdeveloped regions and the core. The degree of market articulation to the supra-local economy may range from irrelevance, through marginality, to peripherality in the familiar world-system sense. In the lower range of that continuum (irrelevance through marginality) are those areas which are either outside the world-economy (which Wallerstein calls "externalities"), or only slightly connected to the world-economy. In a marginal relation, the primary flow of influence is from the core to the periphery. The core has a strong impact on a marginal periphery, but the marginal periphery has a very weak impact on the core. Toward the stronger pole of the continuum of articulation are found regions experiencing full-scale "development of underdevelopment". Influence flows in both directions, but net product and capital flows are to the core.

But how does varying market articulation of a region to a core affect local

social structure? Ecological theories offer an explanation for these varied effects. Ecological models (Barth, 1969; Hannan, 1979) hold that groups will compete for resources unless they have different adaptive strategies which lead them to utilize totally different resources--that is, unless they occupy distinct niches.[1] When groups occupy non-overlapping niches they may combine to form a symbiotic division of labor. When groups occupy the same niche (and in incompletely overlapping niches, to the degree that niches do overlap) the relative populations of the two groups will be determined by their relative efficiencies in resource utilization.[2]

Ecological models have several implications for the survival of social groups. First, to the degree that groups occupy distinct niches, they may be expected to persist as long as their niche specific adaptation is positive. Second, to the degree that groups are in competition in the same niche, their relative persistence may be expected to be determined by their respective efficiencies in resource utlization. Third, maintainence of a group is a function of niche maintainence since group boundaries are determined by niche boundaries.[3] Thus, any exogenous factor which alters the structure or availability of niches will have important ramifications for the survival of various social groups. However, ecological theory does not explain how and why the distribution of niches changes.

This suggests that there are two distinct levels of explanation of group survival: international and local. At the international level, changes in the world-economy account for changes in a region's articulation with the world-economy. Changes in market articulation, in turn, drastically alter the number, distribution, and configuration of ecological niches within the region. As the pattern of niches changes the patterns of group interaction and group survival change.

However, shifts in market articulation are not entirely elastic. As a

region becomes more closely articulated to the world-economy, external pressures impinge more forcefully on local systems. When such pressures are sufficiently strong, and of sufficient duration, the structure and relations of groups will be dramatically changed (e.g. transformation of a group of bands into a tribe; transformation of independent subsistence producers into cash-cropping peasants). In case of drastic change, it will be more difficult for the intra-regional relations to revert to their older form, even if the degree of market articulation returns to its former, lower level. Hence, as a region becomes more clearly peripheral, weakening of market articualtion becomes increasingly difficult.

When the world-economy expands, or more generally when states incorporate new regions, the newly absorbed groups more typically become ethnic groups and not classes (Wallerstein, 1979c). The development and/or transformation to classes comes later with strong market articulation and full penetration of modern, capitalist, economic forces and relations. However, in peripheral areas ecological theories of group relations are largely theories of ethnic relations and survival.

Thus ethnic survival, or persistence, will be strongest at low levels of market articulation, that is, in regions of refuge. Furthermore, as long as such regions remain more-or-less weakly articulated to the supra-regional economy, relatively small changes in degree of articulation will not have profound effects on ethnic persistence. However, when there are signifcant increases in market articulation, profound changes in ethnic persistence and local ethnic relations are to be expected. In general, these changes will be in the direction of greater homogeneity of ethnic types within the region. For instance, a number of tribes may be transformed into a larger mass of peasants who, while remaining culturally distinct from the local elite, will become internally more uniform,

constituting one and not several groups. However, under less intense pressures tribes may maintain separate identities, and new tribes may be formed out of previously politically-unconnected groups or bands. Under these circumstances a decrease in market articulation might allow a fragmentation of tribes into bands, increasing local ethnic diversity. The utility of this analysis will now be illustrated by applying it to the American Conquest of the Southwest.

THE SOUTHWEST: THE GROUPS

The American Southwest, the region covered by what is now Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Texas, California, Utah, Nevada, Colorado has a long history of European contact, and contains a wide variety of social groups. The region was occupied by a large number of aboriginal groups (Spicer, 1962). Four major sets of these aboriginal groups will be discussed here: Apaches, Navajos, Comanches and Pueblos. The use of single names for all four sets of groups gives a false sense of historical unity. The single names are artifacts of consolidations forced upon the groups. Consolidation began before the American conquest, but was greatly accelerated by it, and completed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Apaches, Navajos and Comanches are groups of bands. Each group shows considerable internal linquistic similarity. The Apaches and Navajos are both major branches of the Athapaskan linguistic stock (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Driver, 1969; Spencer and Jennings, 1965). They were occasional gardeners, but primarily nomadic hunters living in mountains, deserts, and plains. Comanches originated in the Rocky Mountains, but after acquiring the horse from the Spanish became plains buffalo hunters. They displaced Apachean plains hunters southward toward Mexico in the eighteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel, 1952).

Pueblos were sedentary chiefdoms with permanent villages and hierarchical political organization (Dozier, 1964, 1970; Ortiz, 1972, 1979). There are estimated to have been over one hundred Pueblo villages at the time of first Spanish contact. This number declined to twenty by the time of the American conquest. The twenty still remaining today represent three major language stocks and several more languages. Mode of production is the major shared characteristic of the Pueblos (Schroeder, 1968, 1979).

In addition to the aboriginal inhabitants, there were two successive waves of invaders: Spaniards and Americans. Spanish settlers occupied the area from the early seventeenth century[4] (Beck, 1962). Spanish colonial society may be analyzed into two groups: a small elite and a mass of poor villagers. These settlers occupied the frontiers of a far-flung, declining empire (Elliot, 1970; Lang, 1975). American social structure in the early-middle nineteenth century was composed of northeastern merchants, southern landowners, and western small farmers. Early immigrants to the Southwest were drawn mainly from western merchants and southern farmers (Ulibarri, 1963). After the Civil War, southern officials were replaced by northern officials (Bailey, 1975; Bailey and Haulman, 1976). The American conquerors were the prime movers of fundamental changes in intergroup relations in the Southwest.

THE SOUTHWEST: A CAPSULE HISTORY

The history of the region may be divided into several phases. The initial phase, contact and first colonization, lasted from the first Spanish explorations (c. 1540) through the founding of a New Mexican colony (1598), until the Pueblo revolt (1680). A second phase lasted from 1693 until the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was an era of reconquest and recolonization.

During this phase the first colonies in Texas were founded (Jones, 1979:38-40). A third phase began with the penetration of the Bourbon reforms into the northern interior provinces of New Spain in the late eighteenth century, and lasted until the movement for Mexican independence (c. 1810).[5] During this phase California was first colonized (Jones, 1979:204). The entire region experienced a significant growth in trade and prosperity. A fourth phase began with the Mexican independence movement and lasted until the American conquest in the war of 1846-48. A fifth phase began with the American conquest and lasted through a quarter century of efforts to consolidate the newly acquired holdings.

The American conquest of the Southwest spans the fourth and fifth phases of Southwest history. It began with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1822 and concluded with the formal annexation of the region in 1848. Throughout the nineteenth century the U.S. was expanding imperialistically to the west.[6] The source of the drive to acquire northern Mexico is sharply debated (Connor and Faulk, 1971; Ulibarri, 1963). Major sources of the imperialistic drive were the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the drive to expand cotton production to Texas, the slavery controversy, and especially the need for a land passage to the Pacific (Graebner, 1955). Once acquired, the major utility of the region (New Mexico Territory) was as a land bridge to the Pacific, and a land route to the lucrative Mexican trade.

The annexation of the Southwest marked the formal transfer of political control of the region from a dying mercantile empire, through a weak federal state, to a dynamic, expanding, capitalist nation-state. As American control over the region was consolidated the Hispanic settlers of the region became a political minority, the incessant nomadic Indian wars ended, all Indian groups were placed on reservations, and the complex of intergroup trading and raiding was totally destroyed.[7] The formerly marginal areas of Texas and California were transformed into rapidly growing components of the American empire.[8]

ETHNIC PERSISTENCE OF SOUTHWESTERN GROUPS

The effects of the conquest on the five southwestern groups are summarized in Table 1. The groups discussed here vary considerably on the two dimensions of persistence. From lowest to highest level of cultural persistence they are: Comanche, Apache, Navajo, Pueblo and Hispanos. Comanche buffalo hunting and raiding practices were totally eliminated by the 1870s. Apaches, who were on larger reservations, were better able to maintain some of their traditions and exercise some control over the amount and type of change they accepted. Navajos, who benefited from a large reservation away from major centers of Anglo population and travel, were in a position to be selective in their adoption of new cultural patterns. Those new practices which they did adopt were better integrated into Navajo culture (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Downs, 1971). Pueblos, while pushed out of the trade with Plains Indians,[9] continued to live in their traditional villages, maintaining much of their traditional culture. Changes in Hispanic culture were not dramatic in the conquest consolidation phase. The elite culture, through being drawn into capitalist trade and the comprador role, experienced somewhat more change than Hispanic village culture.

These interpretations of the cultural persistence of the Indian groups are congruent with the anthropological literature (Dozier, 1970; Driver, 1969; Eggan, 1950; Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1946; Ortiz, 1979; Spencer and Jennings, 1965; Spicer, 1961, 1962, 1972).

Demographic survival is also problematic. Nineteenth century population figures are notoriously unreliable.[10] Only the Comanche case is clear: very low survival evidenced by a very rapid decline from between 10,000 and 30,000 to less than 4,000. For Navajos the case for relatively high success is based

on their large population at the turn of the century, approximately 20,000. For the Pueblos and Apaches the case appears moderate. By 1910 there were about 14,000 Apaches (U.S. Census, 1915). This seems like moderate to high survival. given some 6,000 or more on reservations in the 1870s. The Pueblo case is based on Zubrow's (1974) study of Pueblo population, which indicates a generally steady population level for the nineteenth century. The Hispanic population, both elite and poor, continued to thrive in the post conquest era.

Apaches, Comanches, and Navajos were all band societies, but with varying degrees of political centralization. Comanches were relatively centralized for bands; Navajos and Apaches had a low level of centralization. Pueblos were chiefdoms. Furthermore, each Pueblo village was highly centralized. The Hispanic population was part of a mercantile state, on a far frontier which had been pre-emptively colonized (Bolton, 1929) and which was maintained as a buffer region against both other Europeans and nomadic Indians. The Indian groups varied in the intensity of their trade relations, having been key actors in the comanchero trade. Apaches were moderately involved in trade, but on a sporadic basis. Navajos had a low level of trade relations. The poor Hispanos, along with the Pueblos, formed one end of the extensive comanchero trade system. The elite Hispanos were involved in the comanchero trade as major financers and were major participants in the capitalistict trade between the United States and Mexico.

The ecological factors are more difficult to assess since they were changing rapidly throughout this period. Comanches and Pueblos both had low flexibility of adaptation. Comanches were closely tied to buffalo as major resource; the Pueblos to irrigated farming. What flexibility both had was due to their pariticpation in trade, which was eliminated during this period. Navajos were moderately flexible using some farming to supplement their herding and hunting

activities. Of the Indian groups, Apaches were the most flexible, combining some farming, hunting, occasional cattle husbandry, and especially diverse raiding-trading practices to garner resources by many techniques. The Hispanic community, both elite and poor, declined in flexibility due to the conquest. For the poor Hispanos, plains trade and occasional buffalo hunting were eliminated as economic activities. For the elite, connection with the capitalist American trade changed from a lucrative supplement to a necessary source of wealth and position.

Ecological adequacy is distributed in a different pattern. The sedentary groups, Pueblos and Hispanos, were highly efficient in the utilization of their particular resources. Navajos were moderately efficient. Comanches and Apaches changed in opposite directions. Comanches declined from high efficiency buffalo hunters and traders, to marginal hunters, traders and raiders as their resources disappeared. Apaches who had been marginally efficient in their raiding mode of subsistence, became far more efficient as they began to learn how to exploit various raiding targets, and play them against each other.

External utility of resources is a function of location in the spatial ecology of the region. Comanche territory and resources were extremely desirable to outsiders. Their territory blocked expansion of American trade and cattle raising. Apache territory was of moderate interest. They occupied lands that contained some mineral resources, but they were primarily a nuisance with their raids. Navajo and Pueblo resources were of low utility. Navajo lands were both out of the way of major trade routes, and thought to contain no useful resources. Pueblo land was prime agricultural land, but the cost of displacement was far too steep in terms of amount of land to be gained. The resources of the elite Hispanos were only of moderate interest since access to the territory had already been gained through trade agreements, and New Mexican land was far less desirable than land in either Texas or California. The land

of the poor Hispanos was at first of virtually no interest but with Indian pacification and growth of the cattle industry, land became increasingly important in the regional economy. During the consolidation, poor Hispanos' land was only moderately useful to the Anglo conquerors. It was only later with the coming of the railroad that land became a vital interest, initiating various land frauds and wars (Beck, 1962; Larson, 1968; Lamar, 1970).

TABLE 1: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Table 1 suggests a number of conclusions.[11] The continuum of persistence from Comanches to Hispanos suggests that: 1) there is a different dynamic of persistence for sedentary and nomadic groups; and 2) there is considerable variation within the nomadic type. Comanches and Pueblos are the same on all factors except evolutionary stage and external utility of resources, but widely divergent on ethnic persistence. This reinforces the first conclusion. The close similarity of the Hispano - Comanche differences to Pueblo - Comanche differences further reinforces the conclusion that there is a major difference in survival dynamics of sedentary, centralized social formations and nomadic, diffusely organized social formations. This difference is so strong as to all but obviate comparisons between Hispanos and Apaches or Navajos. That Apaches differ from Pueblos on all factors, and that Navajos differ on most factors reaffirms this conclusion.

Among nomadic groups several comparisons are instructive. Comanches and Navajos are different on all factors, save level of evolutionary development. This supports the utility of all factors in explaining variation in persistence, but does not allow any assessment of their relative efficacy. Comparison of Apaches and Navajos suggests that external utility of resources is a significant factor in the dynamics of nomadic survival. Comanches differ from Apaches in

both adequacy and flexibility of ecological adaptation; the Comanches become less adequately adapted, the Apaches more so. The two groups also differ somewhat in external utility of resources, although this difference is mild. There are mild differences in trade, and opposite extremes in degree of centralization. All these differences yield only moderate differences in survival. This suggests that several of these factors have opposite effects on ethnic persistence.

There are also some differences among the sedentary groups. Hispanos and Pueblos differ in level of socio-political organization and degree of ecological flexibility. The somewhat superior demographic success of Hispanos is the result of an initial ability to expand into new territory and the fact that Pueblos maintained cultural purity by expelling dissident members.[12] Comparison of the Hispano elite with the Hispano poor barely indicates any class differences in relative persistence.[13]

The distribution of cases among the various factors does not allow the separation of level of socio-political evolution (sedentary-nomadic) effects from the effects of external utility of resources. It does suggest, though, the types of cases that could most usefully be selected for future comparisons.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

These changes in southwestern hsitory illustrate the dual role of market articulation in the impact of state incorporation on non-state social formations. Changes in the world-economy affect the level of interest in local resources: in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they centered on political defense of borders; in the nineteenth century they centered on geographical access to west coast shipping ports; in the contemporary Southwest these interests center on energy resources. Changes in market articulation shape the impact of an

incorporating state on absorbed social formations. These latter impacts are also affected by the indigenous form of social organization of the absorbed social formations at the time of their incorporation.

Specifically, the American conquest of the Southwest produced several irreversible changes, primarily within the various nomadic groups. All three band societies became "tribes". The Comanches were all but destroyed in the process. The Santa Fe Trail trade was a major factor in the "feudalization" of New Mexico. As capitalist trade increased, feudal relations between the Hispanic elite and poor intensified (Hall, 1982b). The fact that the Southwest (New Mexico and Arizona, primarily) has remained--until quite recently when uranium, coal and oil have increased in value-- relatively marginal to the American economy (and therefore the world-economy) explains why the region has been such an effective preserve for a variety of ethnic groups.

This paper strongly suggests that theories of ethnic persistence must be far more robust than any of the extant theories. A theory of ethnic persistence must consider a far wider range of factors in analyzing the persistence or demise of ethnic groups. The narrowness of the extant theories may be attributed to their generally narrow focus in terms of types of ethnic groups studied and breadth of historical span considered. The synthesis advanced here must be tried in other areas where regions containing a number of diverse groups have become incorporated into larger social formations. Africa, India, China and the Soviet Union should prove to be fruitful grounds for such explorations. Without such wider application the "theory" advanced here remains an ad hoc explanation.

NOTES

1 Leifer (1981), in his excellent examination of the modernization and reactive cleavages (cultural division of labor) models of ethnic mobilization, is in error when he sees the ecological-ethnic competition model as the flipflop of the reactive ethnicity model. Occupational statuses are NOT separate niches, but are different adaptations for competing for the same rewards, income and status. Occupational statuses only resemble niches to the degree that they utilize non-overlapping resources. This will only occur when the various niches are NOT part of an hierarchical division of labor. He is correct, though, in noting that this model predicts maximum competition when two groups occupy the same niche.

2 See Hannan (1979) and May (1974) for precise mathematical models of the competition process. The mathematical details need not detain us here since nearly all of the relevant parameters of the equations cannot be quantitatively operationalized in most sociological cases. While this unfortunate circumstance prevents careful testing of the model, it does not preclude the use of its analytic results.

3 Hence, changing ethnic identity by individuals constitutes a change in adaptive niche. Thus, while individuals may change their niche location the structure of the niches remains the same--unless there is massive unilateral movement from some niches to others. That is how and why ethnicity remains a constant social factor while many individuals change their ethnic identity. See Barth (1969) and Collier (1975:Chap. 7) for ethnographic examples of this phenomenon.

4 This is an especially brief summary of a very rich historical literature. A more thorough summary is available in Hall (1981) and the literature cited there.

5 The formation of an independent Mexican state between 1810 and 1821 was symptomatic of the delcine of the Spanish empire. The Mexican state was very poorly integrated, lacked central control, and was marked by constant revolution and political chaos. This chaos was the result of nearly equal balance of power among the major elite classes in Mexico: hacendados, entrepreneurs, and the central elite (Bazant, 1977; Coatsworth, 1978; Lang, 1975; Hall, 1981:Chap. VI). The major dimension of political conflict was between the central elite who favored strong central control and the outlying landowners who favored a weak federal state. This conflict played a major role in the formation of an independent Texas in 1836.

6 This too, is a very brief summary of an area of history rife with controversy. A succinct summary may be found in Sellers and May (1963). A history of the controversy is found in Connor and Faulk (1971). A masterful review of the various historical schools of thought on the Mexican-American War is Benjamin (1979). The imperialist interpretation is presented by the historians Williams (1972) and Van Alstyne (1960, 1972). World-systems interpretations of mid-nineteenth century American history are Chase-Dunn (1980) and Rubinson (1978).

7 The history of the formation and demise of the trading-raiding complex is found in Hall (1981:Chaps. III, IV, V).

8 Texas rebelled and became independent from Mexico in 1836. This was not recognized by Mexico. In 1845 Texas was admitted to the United States as a slave state. California was admitted as a free state in 1850.

9 These traders, known as comancheros due to their trading partnership with Comanches, specialized in conveying goods between plains groups and the sedentary populations in New Mexico. They were mainly poor Hispanos or Pueblos. However, the trade did not stop either at the rural village in New Mexico or with the Comanches, but extended further into both New Mexico and onto the plains. The comancheros were the major middlemen who made the contact between the plains nomads and sedentary farmers.

10 In addition to poor accuracy (Thorton, 1978), population figures are only available at scattered dates. Thus some "stretching" of the data is necessary. This is workable given the relative assessments being made of demographic survival.

11 There is an obvious methodological problem in analyzing this table: the number of variables is greater than the number of cases. Therefore, it is a mathematical certainty that an explanation of the variation in outcomes can be constructed from the variations in the factors. This is not the point of this analysis. Rather, the point is to bring out some tentative conclusions about the dynamics of ethnic persistence which might be tested in other locations and/or other cases. It is a frequent occurrence in historical comparative work that this happens, the number of variables exceeding the number of cases. Logically this means that there is no way to separate or distinguish among groups of explanations--but it does not mean that some might not be eliminated from further consideration, nor does it mean that some insight into the processes at work cannot be gained from the study.

12 The geni'zaros of the Southwest are such a group (Chavez, 1955, 1956, 1979; Hall, 1981:Chap IV; Swadesh, 1974). Geni'zaros were detribalized Indians, either offspring of war captives (slaves) who had served as domestic slaves, captives purchased from various trading partners, or Pueblos who had been forced out of their community for becoming too Hispanicized. They lived in their own frontier settlements. If and when they accumulated enough wealth and/or prestige, or married Spaniards, they would be accepted into the Spanish community as lower-class Spanish vecinos. This assimilation could take one to several generations.

13 The persistence of Hispanic culture cannot be fully addressed here, since the American conquest was only beginning to affect it at this time. The conquest did, however, have tremendous implications for the future of Hispanic-Anglo-Indian relations in the Southwest. It is also clear that present day ethnic relations are not solely a product of the conquest but have deep historical roots, going back to practices and processes which originated with the initial Spanish conquest which were drastically altered by the American conquest.

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	GROUP					
	NOMADIC			SEDENTARY		
					HISPANOS	
FACTOR	COMANCHE	APACHE	NAVAJO	PUEBLO	ELITE	POOR
SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION	BAND	BAND	BAND	CHIEFDOM	REGION OF MERCANTILE STATE	REFUGE OF
POLITICAL CENTRALIZATION	HIGH	LOW	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	MODERATE
INTENSITY OF TRADE	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH--LOW*
ECOLOGICAL FLEXIBILITY	LOW	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	HIGH--MOD*	HIGH--MOD*
ECOLOGICAL ADEQUACY	HIGH--LOW*	LOW--MOD.*	MODERATE	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH
EXTERNAL UTILITY OF RESOURCES	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	LOW	MODERATE	LOW--MOD.*
ETHNIC PERSISTENCE:						
DEMOGRAPHIC	LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	MODERATE	HIGH	HIGH
CULTURAL	LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH--MOD.*	HIGH

TABLE 1: ETHNIC PERSISTENCE FOR SEVERAL SOUTHWESTERN GROUPS, UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN CONQUEST, 1846-48

* Indicates significant change in this case for the specific factor during this period.

APPENDIX: A BRIEF NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CONQUEST OF THE SOUTHWEST

Although the United States did not formally annex the various conquered Mexican territories until 1848, the conquest began with the opening of the Santa Fe Trail trade in 1821. By the time Kearny led the invading army into New Mexico in 1846 local ethnic relations had already been drastically altered. In New Mexico proper the local elite (known as ricos in the Southwest literature) had already consolidated its controlling position in the local economy both by gaining a firm foothold in the American trade and by using the accumulated capital to consolidate its land holding in the territory. This elite became a class of comprador capitalists (Chirot, 1977) serving as middlemen between the American traders and both the local population and Mexican traders further to the south (Moorhead, 1958; Hall, 1981: Chap. VI). Simultaneously, large numbers of Americans colonized Texas. These Americans, in alliance with Mexican federalists, declared independence from Mexico in 1836. More Americans flooded into Texas, and continued to move to the west. This placed increasing pressure on Comanches who occupied all of west Texas (Wallace & Hoebel, 1952; Hagan, 1976), and much of what is now western Oklahoma, parts of Kansas and eastern New Mexico. American expansion onto the Great Plains displaced several eastern tribes onto the plains and accelerated the competition among the various buffalo hunting groups. This pushed the Comanches into more intensive

raiding of Texan cattle, and more intensive trade relations with sedentary New Mexicans, both Hispanos and Pueblos. With the rise in both plains trade and the American trade, there was an expansion of Hispanic colonization in New Mexico and more intensive sheep husbandry. This increased friction between Hispanos and Pueblos, and between both of these groups and the surrounding nomadic groups.

The extensive traffic across the plains also disrupted plains hunting, disturbing Comanche hunting grounds in particular. Trade along the Chihuahua trail to northern Mexico increasingly disturbed Apache hunting territories and afforded more numerous targets for raids. Apaches were increasingly pinched between the Mexicans in the south and the westward expanding Texans and the southerly growth of New Mexico. For a time they (along with Comanches) were able to supplement their raiding by penetrating into northern Mexico, taking advantage of the political chaos there (Smith, R., 1963). The expanding economy in New Mexico increased the demand for Indian captives to be used as domestic slaves. This led to increased raiding between the Hispanics and surrounding nomadic groups, especially the Navajos in the northwest and the southern Apaches. Many Pueblos and the Hispanos living in the outlying villages became increasingly dependent on both buffalo hunting and trade with plains groups (especially Comanches) to supplement their subsistence farming. This pressure was quite strong on the Hispano villagers who were trying to avoid entanglement in the sharecropping pastoral system (Swadesh, 1974)[7]. This sheep sharecropping system is locally known as the partido system. A few American (Anglo) merchants had gained a foothold in both Taos and Santa Fe, either by marrying into prominent rico families, or by having local ricos front their trading operations for them. These ricos saw considerable advantage in an American take-over of the region. They stood to profit greatly from the increased trade, and were only threatened with the loss of tax obligations to the Mexican government. Thus it was that when Kearny led his army into New Mexico he met with no resistance from the New Mexicans.

After the conquest, the Americans began the consolidation of their con-

quest. Attention was focused on Texas (admitted as a slave state in 1845), and after the discovery of gold, on California (admitted as a free state in 1850). New Mexico (which then included the region which was to become Arizona) remained a territory, in part due to the slavery issue, and in part due to the predominantly Mexican and Indian citizenship of the territory. The western part of New Mexico was populated mainly by nomadic Indians. It was quickly invaded by miners seeking their fortunes in the southern part of the territory. They were in competition with the local Apache bands for subsistence sources in the sparse environment. This competition intensified Apache raiding practices throughout the region. The growing military demand for supplies both accelerated local and regional trade and intensified raiding of Navajo herds. This, in turn, intensified Navajo raiding to the point that it became a major nuisance to both the Hispanic population and the occupying American army. The Americans began the immediate task of pacifying the various nomadic groups, with considerably variable results.

The Civil War provided a brief hiatus in the consolidation of the Southwest territories. During this time the various Indian groups regained some strength, and inter-group hostilities abated. Strategic considerations, namely blocking Confederate access to the Pacific, led Congress to make the Territory of Arizona from the Territory of the western part of New Mexico in 1863. Immediately after the Civil War the drive for nomadic pacification was renewed. Navajos were the first bands to be pacified. At first they were rounded up and moved to reservation in southern New Mexico, but when that proved too costly they were returned to their traditional homeland in the northeastern corner of Arizona and the northwestern corner of New Mexico. There they fell into relative neglect since they did not occupy territory which was then thought to be suitable for Anglo or Hispano colonization, nor did they interfere with any avenues of communication. The Comanches were quickly caught in a combined ecological and political vice. They were increasingly forced into raiding Texas cattle to supplement the rapidly declining buffalo herds. Before

the conquest, trade across Texas had been prevented by the hostility between Mexican New Mexico and American-aligned Texas. The Comanches had served as effective border guards. After the conquest both regions were part of the same American state and and the Comanches became a major barrier to increased commerce. Both the intense dependence on the buffalo and the legacy of tribalization made the Comanches particularly susceptible to rapid and complete defeat. This was accomplished by the 1870s.

The Apache bands were the last to be pacified in the region. Their initial adaptation to their particularly hostile environment enabled them to withstand the intense onslaught of the American attack. For centuries caught between hostile groups (first Comanches and Spaniards, subsequently between Mexicans and Americans), they had developed a highly diversified raiding mode of subsistence. They were not dependent on any one major source of food or any single mode of subsistence. Furthermore, their intensive raiding had led to a very fluid and fragmented style of band organization that made them singularly effective guerilla fighters, able to withstand constant attacks more readily than the considerably more centralized Comanches. They did, however, constitute a barrier to development of the mineral sources found in southern New Mexico and Arizona, and were a constant nuisance with their international raids into Mexico. They were finally pacified and settled on several reservations in Arizona and New Mexico by the 1880s.

The Pueblos were fortunate to have their land claims supported by early decision of the American conquerors. This was due in part to their helpful role in pacifying nomadic groups and in part an attempt to dislodge Mexicans from the territory by confirming land to the Pueblo Indians (Lamar, 1970). With the decline of the buffalo herds and the pacification of the plains tribes, the various Pueblos withdrew into subsistence agriculture and had decreasing contact with outsiders. These effects of the conquest are the source of the isolation of the

so often celebrated in the anthropological literature (Dozier, 1964, 1970; Spicer, 1962; Eggan, 1950; Ortiz, 1972, 1979).

The Hispanic citizens of New Mexico (who were mostly in the upper and middle Rio Grande Valley) were transformed into a political minority by the conquest. They did not become a demographic minority until the twentieth century, but were clearly a colonized majority from the time of the conquest. The small class of ricos formed an alliance with the American conquerors and managed to hold onto their position for some time. Many of the lower-class Hispanos were displaced from their land through a variety of legal tactics. For the period under discussion, the consolidation of the conquest, the poorer Hispanics became either further indebted to the local elite, or retired into subsistence farming, having been, like their Pueblo neighbors, cut off from outside sources of livelihood. The entire period of American penetration from the opening of the Santa Fe Trail trade, had initiated a trend toward feudalization as the ricos gained in wealth and sought to expand their pastoral base. They were transformed over this time from a dominant ethnic group, to an ethnic minority. There was a cultural division of labor among the elite, Hispanics specialized in agriculture and Anglos in trades (Bailey, 1975; Bailey & Haulman, 1976; Hall, 1981). Among the poorer Hispanos a cultural division of labor was found in the livestock industry. Hispanos specialized in sheep herding, and new Anglo residents in cattle raising.